

William III. King of Great Britain and Ireland Appendix 7

I. REASONS

FOR

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Addressing His MAJESTY to invite into
ENGLAND their Highnesses, the
Electress Dowager and the Electoral Prince of
HANOVER.

And likewise,

II. REASONS

FOR

Attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince
of WALES, and all others pretending any
Claim, Right, or Title from the late King
JAMES and Queen MARY.

WITH

ARGUMENTS for making a vigorous War
against France.

At nunc a Puero Thebæ capientur inermi ?-----

Quem quidem Ego actutum (modo Vos abssistite) cogam

Assumtumque Patrem, commentaque Sacra fateri.

Ovid. Met. 1. 3.

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REASONS

to move into
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ARGUMENTS
against France

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*REASONS for addressing his Majesty to invite
into England their Highnesses, the Electress
Dowager and the Electoral Prince of HANOVER.*

Continued by J. D. 16. May. 1702.

I. **I** BELIEVE there are none of those who were sincere and hearty in passing the last Act for settling the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, but will also be found to be as zealous and pressing to have the Electoral Prince of Hanover speedily invited into England, by Reason that being but yet eighteen Years of Age, he may receive the most early Impressions of Love and Kindness for the British Soil it self, as well as to make the Customs of this Contry habitual to him like those of his native Place; and, in a Word, to have him Educated in the Language, Laws, and the established Religion of the Nation he's to govern, not by his own Will and Discretion, but according to certain Rules and Limitations, wherof he shou'd not remain ignorant till the Time they are to be put in practice. These and the like Arguments are so evident of themselves, that they are in every Body's Mouth; and Nothing is more taken for granted by the People, nor more confidently expected than the Prince's coming, to whom they have already decreed in their public Discourse (which shows the public Inclination) an equal Rank and Revenue with what was enjoy'd by the late Duke of Gloucester, nor are they behind-hand in their Respects to the Electress his Grandmother.

II. **BUT** there are other Reasons which make the People extremely desirous to have these Pledges of the common Safety within Call and in their View: for altho the Act of Succession be an eternal Bar against the pretended Prince of Wales, as well as the whole Popish Line; yet in Case of any fatal Accidents (which God mercifully prevent) I think it easie to conceive that the Ink and Parchment of this Law may prove but a small Defence, and that Persons resident on the Spot, known and belov'd for their Merit, must needs have a better Interest than such as live at a great Distance, and are to seek on the proper Occasion, only heard of by Report, the People Strangers to their Virtues, and without the Hopes of enjoying that Felicity under their

Government, which Acquaintance and the Experience of their good Qualities must naturally give them. Indeed their Presence is so necessary in *England*, that were there no other Reason to be given for it besides the Quickness of Recourse to 'em in Time of Danger, that alone is sufficient to satisfy all those who wish well to the *English* Liberty, and to stop the Mouths of such as are the Enemies and Betrayers of their Contry, and who always put Rubs and Delays to what they cannot artfully frustrate, nor dare openly oppose; for they must still be doing Something to deserve their Hire of Iniquity.

III. FROM some colorable Pretences (tho difficult to be imagin'd or supported) they will be for suspending the Invitation of those *Princes* for a longer Time; but their real Aim will be to see what may happen in the mean while in Favor of the pretended *Prince of Wales*: or that, if all things fail besides, the *French* King may land him somewhere in *England* to create a civil Warr, and so to beget a Diversion at least by the Strength of his Party, sollicit'd by whose Importunities, and relying on whose Promises, we have undoubted Proofs to show (what is already believ'd by all the rest of *Europe* as well as the *English* Addressors) that he was encourag'd so madly to take upon him the Disposal of our Succession, and contrary to His Word and Honor, as well as the Faith of public Treatys, to acknowledge this pretended *Prince* as King of Great *Brittain* and *Ireland*. Tho this Proceeding be no less ridiculous than unjust, yet it is not quite so void of Ground as at first Sight it may seem; for civil Broils have bin rais'd on much smaller Occasions, as it appears by the constant Course of universal History, and particularly in our own Annals, where you may see that on the landing of such theatrical *Princes* (as *PERKIN WARBECK* in *HENRY* the Seventh's Time) they were not only join'd by those of their deluded or designing Party, but also by such as on other Accounts had any Pique or Malice against the rightful and lawful King, as well as by all those whose broken or desperat Fortunes gave 'em Hopes of bettering their Condition by the Disturbance of the present Tranquillity, and by the Alteration of the establish'd Government. This, I grant, is in our Case by no means likely to happen; but wise Nations have bin ever commended for securing themselves against all possible Dangers: and there can be no Fence so proper against the forcible Intrusion of the pretended *Prince of Wales*, as the voluntary Invitation of the real *Prince of Hanover*; tho I beg Pardon for naming those two in a Breath, intending no other Comparison than as we oppose GOD to the DEVIL.

IV. THE Enemies of our happy Constitution are so restless in their Attempts to overturn it, that, as I said before, they will be for perplexing the clearest matters with inextricable Difficulties, or putting all imaginable Stops to what they cannot barefac'dly hinder. Thus, not daring to appear against the *Electoral Prince's* coming, they are for passing over the *Electress* tho she be first nam'd in the *Act of Succession*, and the Person by whose Right the rest of the

Protestant

Protestant Line are to inherit the Crown. The *Prince* is but the Third in this Family, and tho by Reason of his Youth we wou'd gladly have the Care of his Education, yet it was never meant by this that the *Electress* shou'd not com into *England* as first of the Line; nor ought the *Prince* himself be without such an Instructress as will influence him more than all the World besides. Her great Wisdom and Knowledge are confest and proclaim'd all over *Europe*. She has had a Hand already in forming the Manners and Minds of several Princes of both Sexes, the most celebrated for all sorts of Virtues and Endowments, wherof the present *Elect*or her Son, and the Queen of *Prussia* her Daughter are noble Examples, being admir'd by Strangers, ador'd by their Subjects, and respected by all the well-affected Princes and States of *Europe*. We may think her Care will not be less about the Government of the Prince her Grand-child, who has bin hitherto train'd under her Inspection; and, considering all Circumstances, no other Person can more truly represent to him his Duty, better arm him against Flatterers, be a stricter Guard to him from corrupt Society, give him graver Admonition, or freer Reproof. Others will either do Nothing of this, or he perhaps not so well receive it at their Hands. But they are Assurances which no Youth of never such promising Hopes shou'd want, especially since no Body is born inspir'd, and that as great Pains are requisit to moderat Men's Passions as to form their Understandings. God be prais'd he's past the Management of Governors appointed rather for State than Instruction, and not to be spoil'd by the Stiffness, Formality, and Pedantry of inferior Pedagogs, which prevents a great deal of Contention about the Choice or Fitness of the Persons, and removes the Jealousy which those of any Party might have against another about the infusing or settling of his Principles; yet he's not above the Advice of one who is of no Side or Faction, but intirely devoted to the public Interest of the Nation; and who (how false soever the Pretences of others may be from their selfish Designs) must be confest to wish him the best of any in the World, and consequently will be perpetually instilling into him what will make for his Advantage, Security, Glory, and Felicity, without any privat End of her own.

V. B U T let no Body so understand me as if I made this Care of the *Prince* to be the chief Argument for the *Electress's* coming into *England*; for how necessary soever his Presence may be (and I, for my Part, think it absolutely indispensable) yet she has a better Title to it, as being the only Person expressly nam'd in the *Act of Succession*, and the first of that Line by whose Right the *Prince* himself must claim only as the third in Descent. In plain Terms such as pretend to send for the one without the other are playing a new *French Game*, which needs no further Explanation. While the *Bill of Succession* was under the Consideration of Parliament, but especially after the *Act* had past the Royal Assent, I remember all the Discourse of the Town and Kingdom was about the coming over of the *Princess SOPHIA*, as they usually stile her Highness. To this they were universally inclin'd by Reason of their Affection to a Person

son so famous for all Kinds of Virtues, for her great Experience, her extraordinary Learning and Wit, and for her gracious Familiarity, Affability, and Easiness of Access, which are Qualities that seldom meet in those of her high Rank and Dignity.

VI. LET us likewise call to mind how mightily pleas'd we all were, when we understood that this *Princess* did from her Infancy not only look on her self as an *English Woman*, speak our Language as well as any of the Natives, and always treated those of our Island with the utmost Kindness and Marks of Esteem; but that she likewise had the strongest Inclination imaginable to see her original Contry, once at least before she dy'd. This was no small Consideration to recommend her; and, had not the *Act of Succession* past, tis believ'd she wou'd have honor'd us with such a Visit this last Autumn. But to com now of her self wou'd not be altogether consistent with her usual Prudence, nor agreeable to the rest of her Character: neither wou'd our Enemies be wanting to spread their ordinary Calumnies, and to insinuat that she already leapt at the Crown, a Thing to be ridicul'd by all who have the Honor to know her Highness, or the Sense to judg rightly of public Affairs. But without an Invitation tis not probable now she'll ever com; and shall we be so base as to make that *Act* an Obstacle to her coming, which shou'd naturally be the Occasion of it, had she never manifested such Intentions her self before? We were so far from this Disposition, that som eminent Men made it pass for a Complement to leave his Majesty the Care of this Invitation, which they said had bin otherwise perform'd by the Parliament; and so the Body of the People were satisfy'd the Thing shou'd quickly be or was already don. Yet more discerning Persons saw that this was the ordinary Artifice of certain Gentlemen to charge all invidious Things on his Majesty: wheras tis plainly evident, that, unless he wou'd maintain her Court out of the Civil List, the King cou'd not possibly send for her, notwithstanding the Gift of the Crown to her Family be principally owing to his Contrivance, Proposal, and Interest. But the regular way of doing this, is for both Houses of Parliament to address his Majesty to send for their Highnesses, which no Body questions but he'll be very ready to do on the public Account, as well as theirs and his own.

VII. NOW coms a new Pretence against it from the pretended *Prince of Wales's* Party, who will acknowledge perhaps that their Highnesses ought to be here if this were practicable; but that, the Nation having contracted great Debts the last Warr, and being likely to run a new Score in another Warr just on breaking out, we must take Care not to increase our Expences. I am as much for good husbanding the Mony of the Public as any Man, and I hope we shall take such Measures as to amend in the approaching Warr what has bin amiss in the last. But yet they are only unnecessary Expences that are to be avoided; for otherwise we must make no Warr for the future, and
ought

ought not to have bin at the Charge of any former one; there must be no Fleets equipt, no Civil List allow'd, no Magistrats paid, nor any Government supported. Now, as these are Absurdities no Body will be so mad to defend; so if for the Reasons already alledg'd, and others of the like kind, the Presence of their *Highnesses* be not thought necessary in *England*, I shall likewise think the Expence of maintaining 'em here sutable to their Quality to be a Burden on the Nation which they need not bear. But their coming over being granted necessary, if the Nation shou'd think fit to allow the Expence, it is already cut out in a manner to our Hands, giving the Young Prince as much as was settl'd on the late Duke of *Gloucester*, and to the *Electress* fifty thousand Pounds per Annum, 'the same having bin allotted to the late King JAMES's Queen for her Joynture; and which, tho after the Peace of *Reswick*, it was by an extraordinary Act of Generosity offer'd her abroad, yet she scornfully refus'd to accept, rather than comply with the Terms of leaving *France*. But I beg the Favor not to be misunderstood, as if I were so ignorant of my Sphere as to prescribe to the Parliament; I only acquaint them according to my Duty with what I take to be the Sense of the Nation, and leave 'em for the Rest to regulat these Matters according to their Wisdom, which I question not but they'll perform to their own Honor, and the Satisfaction of all the Parties concern'd.

VIII. TO the Body of the People I need use no Arguments on this Subject, they being already perswaded of the Justice and Necessity of this Matter: but I have a few Questions to ask of certain Persons, who were not long ago very forward to oblige their former Queen with so much Money, when it was only hinted in the House of Commons to be design'd for her Service. And, first, Whether the same Men who were for allowing the Use of her Joynture to an exil'd and ejected Queen, can be against settling as much on the next Heir in the Act of Succession, if they be well affected to the present Government? Which is more eligible, to send Fifty thousand Pounds yearly out of the Kingdom, or to have it all spent at home among our selves? Whether it was fitter to give it in an Enemy's Contry to a *Papish Princess*, or in old *England* to a *Protestant Princess*, the latter of our own Flesh and Blood, the former an Alien and an Enemy to our Nation? Whether it was more reasonable to bestow so much Treasure for the entertaining of Rebels, the paying of Spies, and the hiring of Assassins; or to give it to our King and Contry's best Friend, one that will keep a Court which will be the Resort of all sober, virtuous, and polite Company, and that will entertain in her Service the Sons and Daughters of our chief Nobility and Gentry? I might infinitely multiply such Questions, and therefore I shall ask but one more which comprehends all the rest, being the true State of the Case in our present Affairs, and it is, whether we shall stand by the Successors legally establish'd by the King and Parliament of *England*, or by those nam'd and arbitrarily acknowledg'd by the perfidious Tyrant of *France*? I hope the Resolution is no Difficulty

Difficulty to any Lover of Liberty or the *Protestant* Religion. The Wisdom of the Parliament will as much appear in providing for the Successors, as in providing for the Succession; and herein their own particular Affection is concern'd, as well as the public Honor and Safety of the Kingdom.

IX. WE are now about to ingage in a new War for securing our Territories, our religious and civil Liberty, to assist and protect our Allies, to restore and settle the Ballance of *Europe*. Towards carrying on of which just and pious Purposes (as his *Majesty* truly expresses himself) there will be a Necessity of establishing several Fonds, both for making good the Deficiencies of our present Debts, and to supply the Future Charges of the common Cause. I offer it therefore to serious Consideration, whether, on sending for the *Electress* and the *Prince* into *England*, all sorts of Men, both Natives and Foreners, will not the more readily trust their Money with the Public, as finding us to be in good Earnest about the *Act of Succession*, seeing the Persons concern'd already fixt in the Kingdom, and perceiving all Hopes of destroying the present Government to be cut off from the *French King*, either by himself, or, his Tool prepar'd for that Purpose, the pretended *Prince of Wales*.

X. ANOTHER Difficulty started by the *Jacobites*, is, that her royal Highness the Princess ANNE of *Denmark* will not be well content with the *Electress's* coming to reside in *England*; which is a very extravagant Objection: for their Dignities are so different, and their Ranks so well adjusted, that there can possibly happen no Disputes between them on the Score of Place or Precedence. They have both of 'em too much Sense to quarrel on any other Account; the *Princesses* having heartily approv'd of the last *Act of Succession*, and particularly written to congratulate the *Electress* on that Occasion. Besides that it is the *Princess's* visible Interest to have such a Support and Assistance in maintaining her Right to the Crown: for as this is only grounded on two *Acts of Parliament*, wherof the last is: that which makes the House of *Hanover* to succede her Highness and his *Majesty* in default of Issue, so this Family must as much preserve her Title as their own, which Obligation is reciprocal. And as a great many other Circumstances (besides being of the same Line) contribute to make the Interests of both these Ladys to be the same, so there can be no Doubt of their living in a very good Understanding and strict Friendship together, which makes it unnecessary for me to insist any longer on this Head, lest by taking Pains to confute it, I shou'd seem to countenance a Surmise which puts an Affront on their Highness's Wisdom.

XI. THERE want not those who suggest, that the *Electress* has a sort of secret Enemys, who are not willing to see a Person so near his *Majesty*, who might give him more wholsom Advice, and less interested than theirs. And there is no Doubt to be made but that one of her finish'd Wisdom, and who so dearly loves the King (to whom she and her whole Family think themselves,
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as indeed they are, under eternal Obligations) there is, I say, no Question but she would study his Interest, Safety, and Honor, as much as her own, and be ever ready to assist him with her best Counsils. But as it is not easy for designing Men to impose on his Majesty, so the Electress has the less to fear from their Practices: and should any be so imprudent as to enter on such impolitic Measures, 'tis our Happiness that they are the soonest discover'd of any sort of People, and that we can best deal with them of all others.

XII. WHEN those, who were for bringing over the Prince alone, have nothing to say against what is alledg'd for the coming of the Electress, as they are without true Affection for any of the Protestant Line, they may perhaps change their Note to serve their Turn, and now seem to approve of calling her into England, but pretend they cannot send for the Prince, lest they should be thought to neglect the Elector his Father, whose Title is before him. Were these People sincere, they are preferable to those who were for giving the Crown to the Prince, and wholly passing over the Elector, than which there never was a more pernicious Project, either for dividing that Family, or embroiling our Affairs at home; but it is happily prevented by the Act of Succession, which all the well-affected People of this Realm promise in their numerous and hearty Addresses to defend and maintain against all Opposers whatsoever. But to return to the Elector, he not being the first of that Line, there is not the same Necessity for his being on the Spot as his Mother, nor is there Need for the same Convenience in his Education as that of the Young Prince his Son. Besides that he already governs a great, a valiant, and worthy People in Germany, where his Presence is not only necessary for their Behoof, but likewise for the common Cause of Europe.

XIII. I SHALL produce no more Reasons for inviting the Electress as well as the Prince into England, which I have urg'd for the Safety and Benefit of the Nation, and not on any Score to better her Condition; for in the Contry where she lives none was ever more rever'd or belov'd. No Princess of Hanover had ever so great a Revenue settl'd on her; and 'tis well known that her Jointure is not only sufficient to defray the Charges of her Court there, and to supply the Liberalities to which her Circumstances may occasionally oblige her: but that, tho she be as farr from being avaritious as profuse, she yearly lays up very considerably. So that, besides the Establishment, which no good Englishman can grudge her here, she likewise during her Life will bring such a Sum into this Nation, as

may serve in som Measure to counterballance what is drawn out of it by the *Queen Dowager*. But this, I hope; is one of the least Considerations to increase our Wisshes for having her among us; and that as we have chosen her for the worthyest Successor to his *Majesty* and the *Princesss*, we shall also think it worth while to enjoy her Presence, and to support her Dignity.

REASONS

REASONS for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any Claim, Right, or Title from the late King JAMES and Queen MARY.

XIV. **I**N the former part of this Discourse I have more than once made mention of a Party designing to overthrow the Liberty and Religion of their Contry, being some of 'em temted by the Prospect of getting large Shares of the Prey, to the taking wherof they are so instrumental; or, because they despair to advance themselves in a free Government, whereas the Choice of a Tyrant is not guided by Merit, but by his Humor, Avarice, or Lust: and others of 'em are misled by the Force of superstitious Principles to think an implicit Obedience in civil and religious Affairs to be the Duty of Subjects to their Superiors, and that the greatest Happiness of any Contry consists in being under a despotic Government. I shall not determin which of these is the most numerous in the Party, nor need I inquire which has most Influence over the others, the Fools or the Knaves: but both are to be alike watch'd, disarm'd, and oppos'd by all those who desire to call what they have their own, to have a Right to their Wives and Children, to their Goods and Possessions; to have a Share in making such Laws as they may think most conducing to their own Benefit; to be in a Capacity of resisting all those who wou'd undo them by Violence or Fraud under any Pretence whatsoever; and lastly, they are to be resisted to Death by all such as prefer the *Protestant* Religion, the Advancement of Knowledge, and the Freedom of their Consciences, to the Idolatry, Ignorance, and Tyranny of the *Popish* Church.

XV. **T**HIS Party in general is now known by the Names of *Jacobites*, *Frenchmen*, the *Adherents of the Prince of Wales*, &c. but those of 'em who pretend to be *Protestants* are particularly stil'd *High-Flyers*, *High-Churchmen*, a few of 'em *Nonjurants*, and all of 'em *Torys*. In other Reigns they had other Names; but ever since the Reformation they have continu'd the same Designs of Slavery, tho no *Protestants* appear'd among 'em till the Reign of King JAMES I. They were

all *Papists* that gave any Disturbance to King *Edward VI.* No *Protestants* were concern'd in the *Spanish* Invasion of 1588, nor in the frequent Conspiracies against the Life of Queen *ELIZABETH*; neither did any of 'em refuse to sign the *Association* for defending her Person, and revenging her Death, if it were violent. King *JAMES I.* gave Grounds enough to believe, by diverse Speeches and Actions, that he wou'd be invested with a Power above the Laws of the Land. He found some *Protestant Statesmen* to second his Intentions; but his Son and Successor *CHARLES I.* found likewise some *Protestant Divines* to preach up his absolute Power, and to infuse such Principles into their Hearers, under the most awful Impressions of Religion. The same thing was don by greater Numbers, and with less reserve under *CHARLES II.* in whose Time Passive Obedience and Nonresistance to the King's Commands were first made Evangelic Doctrins. 'Tis fresh in every Body's Remembrance how far the Designs of the *Papists* were advanc'd in his time against our Religion and Government, and how little they cou'd do of themselves, without the Assistance of those pretended *Protestants* who readily concurr'd in all their Measures; who turn'd their horrid Plots into Ridicule, when they cou'd not deny the Facts, or were not able to fix 'em on the *Protestant Dissenters*; who allow'd the King a Power to dispense with all our Laws civil and religious, which was to set up what Government and Religion he pleas'd; who presented Addresses and Abhorrences against Parliaments; who were zealous to take away the Charters and Immunities of all the Corporations in the Kingdom; who promoted and approv'd the Murders committed under legal Forms on such as appear'd for the Liberty of their Contry; and who, in a word, were such good Friends to the *Papists*, and those so sure of their Assistance, that they never fail'd of giving one another a good Word, and doing all the mutual kind Offices they cou'd.

XVI. IN King *JAMES II.*'s Reign the Mask was quite laid aside, *Popery* and *Slavery* display'd their Banners, and made a formidable Attack. But by the Blessing of God, thro the Courage and Conduct of his present Majesty, by the Learning and Resolution of the Church of *England*, and the Stedfastness of most other *Protestants* to the same good Cause, our Enemies were utterly route'd, their execrable Machinations fully discover'd, and the *Protestant* Conspirators so fairly markt, as, one wou'd have thought, they shou'd never again, by the Virtue of any Disguize, be mistaken for Friends to the Government or Religion they so basely betray'd. Nor was it any Doubt at that time to diverse Persons, and more have bin convinc'd of it since by Experience, that the chief of those *Divines* who profan'd and prostituted

ted their Function, of those *Judges* who wrested and perverted the Laws, and of those *Freemen* who mercenarily gave up their Privileges, ought to have bin at least made for ever incapable of exercising their several Callings, or bearing any other Offices in the Commonwealth, if the Lenity of the Government shou'd think fit to spare 'em from suffering the capital Punishment they had so justly merited. But this being neglected by the Advice of som whom I cannot commend for it, and the King being persuaded by an Appearance of Mercy, as well as of complying with his Friends in a Contry where he was a Stranger, it might be reasonably expected that the Offenders wou'd sit afterwards quiet, never more intermeddle in those nor the like Matters, and be very glad thus to escape. But all that so thought quickly found themselves deceiv'd, these People having with unparallel'd Ingratitude begun their old Tricks again as soon as the Storm was over, and serving King WILLIAM as the Adder did his Benefactor, spitting all his Venom at him as soon as he recover'd Strength from the Warmth of that Fire by which the Farmer compassionatly laid him when he was just expiring thro the Rigor of the Frost.

XVII. THE Party oppos'd his *Accession* to the Crown, and endeavor'd to delude the Nation by their chimerical Expedient of a *Regency*, which had it really taken Effect (as it never cou'd, nor ever was intended) must prove to be what they always abhor'd, a *Republic*, and the very worst sort too, an *Oligarchy*: so dearly they love arbitrary Power, that they cou'd never be induc'd to relinquish *Monarchy*, till they found out a Form that was a greater Tyranny. When they cou'd not bring this to effect, they were against the *Recognition* of his Title as rightful and lawful King of this Realm, taking the Oath of Allegiance to him as a King *de facto* only, which in other Words is an *Usurper*, to whom you pay Obedience by Force, and which you may justly refuse when you are able. There were many of 'em joyn'd with the *Papists* in the same Army under the abdicated King in *Ireland*, and afterwards they were promiscuously listed with the *Papists* here in Regiments of Horse and Foot ready to appear in Arms, if the *French* Invasion from *la Hogue* had not happily miscarry'd. When about the same time there was a most barbarous Plot discover'd to Assassinate his Majesty's Person, there were som of 'em actually concern'd, and most of 'em in their several Stations peremptorily refus'd to enter into a *voluntary Association* with the rest of their Fellow *Protestants* for preserving his Majesty's Person, and revenging his Death (if it were violent) on the *Papists*. Their Pretences against doing this were so pitiably ridiculous, that I admire at the Patience of those who wou'd be so abus'd, as to think any one *Protestant* cou'd
now

now make a Scruple of what all the *Protestants* unanimously did for Queen ELIZABETH, to whom, without derogating from her glorious Character, they were not half so much oblig'd as we are to King WILLIAM, she being set up by the *Protestants*, and we by him being rescu'd from the *Papists*; and was it not the absurdest Thing in the World to hear those so tender of promising *Revenge on the Papists*, who show'd no such Tenderness for the King's Person, or involving their whole Contry in Devastation, Blood, and Ruin. The same Persons did always rejoice at the Success of the *French* in *Flanders*, were as much dejected whenever we had the better, and recover'd their sprightly Looks again if they heard of any Advantage got over the *Christians* by the *Turks* in *Hungary*. They show'd their Inclination many ways, as well as by their wagering; and som were almost brought to that Ruin they deserv'd by expressing their Zeal in this way.

XVIII. IT were endless to enumerat the various Methods they took to clog the Wheels, and to disturb the Measures of the Government. They have bin every where of a piece, and where they join'd with the true Lovers of their Contry to do any good Thing, it appears by their subsequent Actions that it was not for the same End, but either to pique the King, to divide his Friends, or to favor their own Designs; witness the Bill for regulating Tryals in Cases of *high Treason*, and the disbanding of the *Army*. It is frequently very difficult in a popular Assembly to carry the best Laws by a Majority of Voices, without taking the Advantage of many Men's Passions or Resentments; and so it happen'd in the Cases now mention'd, as well as others; as I somtimes heard a very good and able Man say, he was sure of such a Man's Vote against the *Army*, because he believ'd it wou'd expose us to be invaded by *France*; and that another wou'd be against it, not that he had such a foolish Imagination, but to vex the King, who he had got a Notion was never well but at the Head of his Troops. But he that for the Sake of his Contry was against a *Standing Army* in Time of Peace, will demonstrat his Sincerity by being for one in Time of War: for how any Government preserv'd its Freedom, cou'd offend others, or defend themselves without Arms, let those tell that are wiser. All we have to do is to avoid Extremes, *not to think Soldiers always necessary, because they are sometimes useful; nor because they are sometimes hurtful, to think 'em always dangerous.* But I hope I need not use any Arguments to prove, that it was not to secure the Liberty of *England* that any appear'd against the *Army*, who were last Year against securing the Peace of *Europe*, or against making War with *France* to bring this to pass; who were for owning the Duke of *Anjou* King of *Spain*, to the Prejudice

Prejudice of all People's Right, the Diminution of our own Trade, and destroying the Ballance of *Europe*; who were dilatory in assisting the *Dutch* or gaining *Portugal*, and the Princes of the *Empire*; who now do not think the *French* King's acknowledging the pretended *Prince of Wales* to be an Infraction of the Treaty of *Reswick*, nor a just Cause of War from the *English* Nation; and who, notwithstanding this Indignity and Perfidiousness, are for entering into a War as Assistants to others, and not as Principals; which plainly shows they do not think themselves concern'd, nor care how little Progress is made by the Arms of the *Emperor*, the *Dutch*, and our other *Allies*.

XIX. THIS disaffected Party of *Protestants* being as much in the Interest of the pretended *Prince of Wales* as of the late King *JAMES*, and carrying on the very same Designs with our irreconcilable Enemies the *Papists*, as is manifest from the Incouragement, Assistance, and Applauses the former receive from the latter on all Occasions; the Approbation they give to their Proceedings, and their constant Fellowship together: it is therefore highly necessary at this Time for the *Parlament* to take such Measures as will not only disable them from undermining the Government, but likewise serve to make 'em known to the King and People, who both commit frequent Mistakes for want of true Information in this Case. The profest *Papists* are well enough distinguisht, and under an Incapacity in many Respects of acting against us, by Reason of their Exclusion from *Parlament*, as well as from all civil, military, and ecclesiastic Preferments. But what they cannot do of themselves they bring about by these their Confederats and Accomplices, who are by so much the more dangerous, as, professing the same Religion with us, they are not so easily discern'd.

XX. THE last Attempt which the *Papists* and they have made against our Religion and Liberty, is by incouraging the *French* King to acknowledge and proclaim (as he has audaciously don) the pretended *Prince of Wales* King of Great *Brittain* and *Ireland*. Against this perfidious and arbitrary Proceeding all the well-affected People of these Realms have presented their hearty *Addresses* to King *WILLIAM*, and express their Resentments against the *French* King, his mock *Viceroy*, and their Abettors here, as zealously, fully, and strongly as Words are capable: nor is there any Doubt but with their Counsils, Hands, and Purse, they will cheerfully enable his Majesty to maintain the just Title they have given him to the Government; to preserve their own Liberty, Wealth, and Power; to assist and protect our *Allies*; to reduce the exorbitant Power and Tyranny of *France*; and to restore the Ballance of *Europe*. Nor will they be hinder'd from effectually

ly performing their Promises by the specious Pretences of Quotas, or Assistants, or any other Devices of our domestic Enemies: for the more they give (provided they see it duly manag'd, and tis their own fault if it be not) the sooner will the War be at an End, and the more safe and honorable will be our Terms of Peace: nor are our Engagements and Concern (which is all that is meant by Principals) less than those of any others, either in relation to our Dominions, Traffick, Liberty, or Religion, besides the unsufferable Affront of having a Governor impos'd on us by a foren Power. Our Case in this Respect is like the Man's, who having a great many Dogs, let only one of 'em loose at the Tyger, which tore him immediatly to Pieces; then he sets one more at him, after him another, and all three met with the same Fate: but being at last equally inrag'd and afraid, he loo's the whole Pack at him, which presently master'd the Tyger; whereas, if he had don this at the beginning, he had probably lost none of his Dogs, and bin in no Danger himself.

XXI. THE Quantity and Quality, the Ways and Means, the Inspection and Management of the Expences necessary for carrying on the impending War, and making good the public Credit (which ought to be always sacred and inviolable) I leave to the Wisdom of our Representatives in Parliament. But from what has bin said of the Practice, Hopes, and Designs of the disaffected Party, I think this Conclusion necessarily follows, *That the pretended Prince of Wales be forthwith attainted for usurping the Royal Titles and Arms of this Realm, and for using to the utmost of his Power as King of the same: that all his Fautors, Accomplices and Abettors be likewise declar'd guilty of High Treason: And that the said pretended Prince, and all others pretending any Claim, Right, or Title from the late King JAMES and Queen MARY be solemnly abjur'd by all the Subjects of these Realms.*

XXII. AS for attainting this Pretender and Usurper, it were superfluous to allege any of those known and frequent Precedents in our own Nation, where the like Criminals have met with the like Treatment: and indeed if we cou'd not furnish any Examples of this kind, yet the Practice of all the rest of the World, and the Nature of the Thing it self, were enough to authorize and justify such a Proceeding. Our Government being confin'd to a certain Family to avoid the Confusion of frequent Elections, and there being several Limitations and Conditions, on the Breach wherof any or all of that Family may be incapacitated to Reign, and the Crown be conferr'd on a worthier Person, or quite transferr'd to another Line; it follows, that the whole Right of Succession in this Kingdom is founded on the good Will
of

of the People, exprest in the Laws they make to this End, for which Reason both the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* claim'd by Acts of Parliament, as did all the foregoing or succeeding Princes whose Titles were question'd; while on the other Hand such as oppos'd them were declar'd guilty of the Punishments those Laws enacted, and which the Offendors frequently suffer'd.

XXIII. IN the thirteenth Year of Queen EIZABETH there was an Act pass'd, which makes it Treason during her Life, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels after her Decease, *to affirm that the Queen, with and by the Authority of Parliament, is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof; or that this or any other Statute made by Parliament, with the Queens Assent, is not or ought not to be for ever of sufficient Force to bind and govern all Persons, their Rights and Titles, that may claim any Interest or Possibility in or to the Crown in Possession, Remainder, Inheritance, Succession, or otherwise.* These are the exprest Words of that Statute, which is yet unrepeal'd; and if what was don by this Queen and her Parliament is according to our Constitution, and may consequently be as lawfully imitated by succeeding Princes and Parliaments, the late King JAMES was not more justly depos'd for his Misgovernment, than the pretended *Prince of Wales* (were he his real Son) might and ought to be excluded, as being educated in *Popish* and *Arbitrary* Principles by his Mother, the *Jesuits*, and the *French King*, the last having in a particular manner taken all imaginable Pains to mold him to his own Scheme of Religion and Politics, the better to attain those Ends which he hopes by his means to accomplish. It appears from History that all *free People* have set aside the Children of *Tyrants* for Reasons of eternal and universal Force, as inheriting the Principles and Designs of their Parents, bearing an Affection to their Friends and owing a Revenge to their Enemies, as more likely to grasp at a greater Power than even their Parents, the beter to secure themselves from their Disgrace, and being under extraordinary Obligations to those foren Potentats who protected or restor'd them.

XXIV. THAT the pretended *Prince of Wales* (were he never so legitimat) is under all these Circumstances, is undeniably evident; and the Pope himself assures us, that *he has bin most piously educated to imitat the Virtues of his Father by his most dear Daughter in CHRIST,*

Queen MARY his Mother : and that his most dear Son in CHRIST, LEWIS the most Christian King of France has not only courteously entertain'd him (contrary to all regard for his own privat Interest) but also openly acknowledg'd him as Heir of the Brittannic Empire, and has thereby notably confirm'd him in his Resolution of strenuously asserting the Catholic Faith, whatever may be his Lot for so doing. For this Action the Pope, on the third of October last, made a high Encomium of the French King in the sacred College. Nor ought we to neglect that Warning given us by an Enemy, who yet (for ought I know) has rather acted the part of a politic *Italian* to acquaint us with our Danger, than exprest his Concern for the flourishing of that Church, which if it shou'd prosper by the Arms of France, he must be reduc'd to a meaner Rank, and be more oblig'd for the Keys to LEWIS the 14th, than to St. PETER, or the Conclave. But not to enter on such Speculations, no Persons in the Nation will scruple attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, who have any Regard to the Preservation of his present Majesty, to the fundamental Constitution of this Realm, to the Safety of the People (which is the ultimat Reason of all Government) or even to their own Reputations : and as for such who may be insensible to all these Motives, for their sakes we must the more speedily effect this Matter, both to frustrat their abominable and destructive Designs, and to punish as well as to distinguish them as our Enemies. As for the Birth of this pretended Prince, tho from all the Circumstances accompanying it I cannot forbear believing him supposititious, yet as to the Merit of the present Point it is not of the least Weight imaginable : and it ought to be known to all the World that it is because our Government is not absolutely hereditary, and that we neither believe the Divine Right of Monarchy, nor will ever bear with an arbitrary Sway in our Governors; that the King and the Parliament of England have not thought fit to prove this Imposture (how much soever it is in their Power) and not for those silly Reasons which are commonly given by such as are Enemies or Strangers to our Constitution; nor is there a sensible Man of the well-affected People of this Kingdom that wou'd give a Groat to have it discover'd, otherwise than as a Piece of History to please this Curiosity, like others of the same kind which happen'd diverse Times before.

XXV. BUT I need say no more to the ATTAINDER, which will be zealously promoted by all the Lovers of the present Government, and cannot be successfullly oppos'd by its Enemies.

mies. The next step to be taken for our Security, and to answer the Design of our Addressees, is to cause an **ABJURATION** of this pretended Prince, and all others pretending any Claim, Right, or Title from the late King **JAMES** and Queen **MARY**, to be tender'd to all the Inhabitants of this Realm. This has bin the usual Custom of all Nations when they chang'd their Government or Governors. **JUNIUS BRUTUS**, who, to use the Words of **LIVY**, was not a more zealous Assertor than watchful Guardian of Liberty, got the People to make an Act of Banishment against all those of the *Tarquinian* Name; and, lest they shou'd be softn'd by the Bribes or Entreaties of the Royal Family, he engag'd 'em by an **OATH** that they wou'd never suffer any of them to reign at *Rome*, nor indeed any others, which is a Case that must unavoidably happen when the People's Patience is abus'd, and that all Hopes of reforming Matters are quite given over. **DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSÆUS** speaking of this Decree, repeats som Part of it in Words to this Purpose: *It is our Pleasure that the TARQUINS, with their whole Progeny, be banish'd out of Rome, and all the Territories of the Roman Dominion; that it be not lawful for any Person to do or say any thing for their Restoration; and that if any be convicted of having acted contrary to these things, be be punish'd with Death.*

XXVI. SUCH a Law as this, and almost in as few Words, wou'd effectually prevent any Possibility of the supposititious Prince, or any other Pretender's disturbing our Tranquillity at home: nor have those bin wanting since the *Revolution* who propos'd an *Abjuration* of the late King and his pretended Issue; but there were found Arts to evade it, and perhaps the Government was not altogether so true to it it self as ought to have bin on that Occasion. But, I suppose, in this as well as a great many other Points som well-meaning Persons are at length undeceiv'd; and now there's another critical Opportunity to repair that false Step, as well as to take better Measures in other Things. The Danger is evident, the Claim is actually made, there is a potent Monarch abroad who openly supports it, and there are a great many Persons at home that privately favor it. It is high Time therefore that the Friends of the Government declare and oblige themselves for its Defence, and that its Enemies be fully known and render'd incapable to act against it, towards compassing of which there is nothing can be so effectual as an *Abjuration* of the pretended *Prince of Wales*, the pretended *Princess of England*, and all other Pretenders whatsoever.

XXVII. But whether this *Abjuration* shou'd be taken voluntarily, or the Refusal of it be made penal, is a Question I think the Parliament alone ought to decide. The Reason of those who wou'd have it voluntary is, because they think it will thus better distinguish the disaffected Party, they having almost to a Man refus'd the *voluntary Association*, which nevertheless they generally sign'd when it was by their Contrivance past into a Law to take away the Odium of their refusing it before: for now they consider'd their Obedience as a forc'd Compliance with an Usurper, and consequently not to be punish'd at the expected Restoration of their pretended rightful King. Supposing it then to be voluntary, there must be a Law to see it under a severe Penalty tender'd by the Persons appointed for this Purpose to every Man in this Kingdom and the Dominions therunto belonging, from sixteen Years and upwards, five hundred Pounds for every Man whom the Churchwarden (or whoever is the Officer) shall pass over, but no Punishment to be inflicted on any that refuses it, whose Name is under the Penalty aforesaid to be return'd on the backside or in a separat Column of the Parchment, as the Names of those who subscribe the *Abjuration* are to be written with their own Hands (or their Marks, if they cannot write) immediatly under the Formulary of the Oath. By this means the Government comes to a certain Knowledge of those who are for or against them, their Number and Quality; and tis afterwards their own Fault if they prefer their Enemies to any Places of Trust, Profit, or Honor, and if they take not that due Care of their Actions that is necessary.

XXVIII. Such as wou'd have the Refusal of the *Abjuration* Penal, think it reasonable that all those who are in a foren Interest, and engag'd against the Government, shou'd be depriv'd of the Benefits enjoy'd by the sound Part of the Inhabitants, branded with som Marks of Infamy that may serve to distinguish them from good Subjects, and suffer'd to have no Share in the legislative or executive Power, least they abuse it to the Destruction of the Government and Kingdom. And for their taking this Oath as a compulsory Act, they say that the well wording of it will prevent their *Jesuitical* Equivocating and Reservations, since we have made such a Test about *Transubstantiation* as cannot be got over by the *Papists* themselves: For which Reason this very Particular ought to be express'd in the *Abjuration*, that they do not take it in such a Sense as a forc'd Obedience to the Laws

of

of a *King de Facto*, &c. And truly, whether it be penal or voluntary, it ought to be worded so fully, strongly, and clearly, that the Takers cannot be possibly doubted to renounce with all their Hearts, and from a due Understanding of our fundamental Constitution, all the false Claims, Rights, or Titles of any Pretender whatsoever, and that, as such they will resist, oppose, and prosecute them according to the Laws in these Cases provided, or to be made.

XXIX. I have met with an Objection or two against proposing an *Abjuration*, but such as I ought to beg Pardon for producing, they are so extremely trivial; as, first, that few People make Conscience of an Oath, and that for this Reason the *Abjuration* will miss of the End design'd by it. I wou'd ask those Gentlemen if they be themselves of this number, or, if they deny it, why they shou'd think that there are no other honest Men in the World. Besides, that an Oath is not only a firm Obligation on Men of Piety and Honor, but has likewise its Effects on those of worse Principles: for the Violation of it is attended with a great many disadvantageous Circumstances in this World, both with regard to their privat Credit or public Reputation; and withal in relation to the Government, such Persons deservedly meeting with worse Treatment than others, and justly to be suspected by the Party they favor, who know they have no Ty on them, but what they have already made no Scruple to break. Every Government and Religion in the World have thought an *Oath* a good Security, tho there wanted not Perjuries in all Times and Places. In this the *Heathens*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mahometans* are agreed, arbitrary Monarchies and free Republics, Convocations and Armies. And among our selves are not the Oaths of *Allegiance* and the *Test* thought of great Use to the Government? and are not all Controversies decided in our Courts of Judicature by Witnesses examin'd upon *Oath*?

XXX. A SECOND Objection is made by your Men of Caution, lest Things might so com about, that this pretended Prince shou'd actually succede, and then, say they, such as have *Abjur'd* him are in Danger of being ruin'd or hang'd. But if there had bin no other Reason for *abjuring* except this which is alledg'd against it, it were abundantly sufficient: for I dare pawn my Life, that the pretended *Prince of Wales* shou'd never land in *England*, if all or the major part of the People were fearful of Ruin or hanging when he came; and certainly if this shou'd ever

ever, happen, a good store of 'em may rest assur'd of being serv'd in the last Manner, as all of 'em cannot fail of the first. Whether therefore we regard the Continuance of our Liberty, and those Felicities which accompany it, whether we wou'd preserve the *English* Constitution, the *Reform'd* Religion, or express our Gratitude to King W I L L I A M, and our Expectations from his *Protestant* Successors, it is our Duty as *honest Men*, as *Freemen*, and *Englishmen*, to ingage and bind our selves in the most religious, strict, and solemn manner to venture our Lives for all these unvaluable Blessings, and to abjure, renounce, and oppose all those who wou'd deprive us of the same under any Pretence whatsoever. To conclude this Head your luke-warm, neutral, cautious Persons are the worst of Subjects; and whatever difference there may be among the Wicked before God, in Respect of Men these are worse than open Rebels, secret Conspirators, or the most perjur'd Villains. The Ruin of many a flourishing Government, the miscarrying of many a glorious Cause, and the laying aside of many a noble Undertaking, are to be charg'd on their Conceitedness, Avarice, and Pusillanimity; which induc'd the wise SOLON in his Institution of the *Athenian* Government, to make it capital for any Man to remain an unconcern'd Spectator when any Sedition shou'd happen in the City, as the fittest Method of speedily appeazing the Tumult, or keeping the best Party from being overpower'd.

XXXI. IN fine, whether the *Abjuration* be penal or voluntary, (for I cannot doubt of one or the other) I hope Care will be taken that it be tende'rd, as I said before, to all manner of Persons, not excepting the King's Majesty, or her royal Highness the *Princess of Denmark*. For all the Securities we give to them, they ow this Security to us. Not that I doubt either of them, from which I am the farthest of any Man in the World: but they both of 'em very well know what Stories and Surmises our Enemies have bin actively spreading to amuze and intimidat the People; they have whisper'd horrible things of blind and clancular Bargains, but CÆSAR's Wife ought to be unsuspected as well as innocent. Their Example in this particular will have a wonderful Influence on all the Inhabitants of these Realms, and give an additional Courage to our Allies abroad: nor is it any way derogatory to their high Dignities to allow such an Assurance to the People, since in many other Respects they are oblig'd to enter with them into Oaths and Engagements, and that Queen

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ELIZABETH sign'd the Association in her Time. Its too serious a Subject to be disputed as a Point of Ceremony ; and it is neither undutiful nor unbecoming an *English* Man, to say that whosoever shou'd refuse the *Abjuration* from a Point of Conscience, dos not understand the Title we allow to the Government.

XXXII. AS for those who may think themselves particularly concern'd in any Part of this Discourse, they are quite mistaken if they imagin I minded Persons, for all my Aim is to rectify Things. If any Number of the disaffected Side have chang'd their Sentiments, we ought likewise to change our Opinions of them ; but Men's Actions are the surest Interpreters of their Thoughts, and such as will either apply what I have said to themselves, or be against sending for their *Hignesses* and proposing or taking the *Abjuration*, need not that I shou'd tell the World whether they are for *England* or *France*, for *Liberty* or *Tyranny*, for the *Protestant* or *Popish* Religion.

F I N I S.

16. May. 1702.

Reviewed by J. D. in Parl. as a *Malicious*
~~William Pitt~~